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## REPORT.

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The cause of Peace is necessarily slow in its progress ; for it aims at results of such a nature as forbids the hope of their being accomplished in a day or an age. There is scarcely another evil in the world so inveterate as the one we seek to remove ; an evil deeply rooted in the worst passions of our nature, and wrought from time immemorial into the habits of every society, and the structure of every government. The work of reform is always slow even in individuals, slower still in communities, and far more so in the vast cluster of communities, termed the commonwealth of nations. To the latter alone belongs the custom of war, and hence we must influence these in order to gain our object ; but we can reach governments only by the long and laborious process of rectifying the views of individuals, and thus forming everywhere such a public opinion as shall constrain rulers to employ other means than the sword for the adjustment of international disputes.

Such a process the friends of Peace in both hemispheres have been steadily pursuing for the last thirty-eight years, and with a degree of success far greater than could reasonably have been expected from the amount of means hitherto used. The total expenditure in this cause for all Christendom, has probably averaged from the first not more, perhaps even less, than five thousand dollars a year ; but mark how much, under God's blessing, has been accomplished with this mere pittance, not a fiftieth part of what ought to have been expended for an object of such vast magnitude and importance. It has planned a new system, and started a new era of international policy ; a system and an era of peace. The tone of feeling on this subject is much changed already for the better through the civilized world. Proofs of this meet us on every side. Search the issues of the press, listen to the instructions of the pulpit, or observe the general drift of sentiment in public debate and private conversation, in the forum and the lyceum, in the school and the family, in the field, the workshop, and the counting-room. The change is obvious, undeniable, and full of promise for the future. There is everywhere a growing aversion to the sword, as an arbiter of disputes between nations ; and difficulties which, fifty years ago, would have occasioned

fierce, and long-protracted wars, are now adjusted often with little fear or thought of appealing to arms. The revolutionary outbursts in Europe since 1848, have given far greater provocations, than did the first French Revolution of 1789-92 ; but, while the latter drenched that continent in blood for more than twenty years, sacrificing many millions of lives, and wasting untold myriads of property, the former, though attended of course with some violent conflicts between rulers insisting on their prerogatives, and subjects clamoring for their rights, have nevertheless led to no war between any of its nations. Europe, for a wonder, has reposed in *international* peace for nearly forty years, ever since the commencement of special efforts in this cause. Her reluctance to draw the sword seems increasing every year ; and, if it can be kept in its scabbard for half a century longer, we may well hope it may thenceforth be left there to rust forever. Here is a most decisive proof of progress in this cause. So everybody would say in respect to any kindred reform ; for, if there had been in all our land no case of actual drunkenness for forty years, would not this single fact, *instar omnium*, have proved the signal and glorious triumph of temperance ?

The cause of Peace, though regarded by some as visionary, is in truth eminently practical ; and the past year has witnessed special efforts, both in this country and in England, to weave its principles into the practice of their respective governments. Presuming that nations will of course retain their war-system until something better is found to take its place, and believing it possible to supersede its necessity by peaceful substitutes that shall accomplish all its legitimate purposes more effectually than the sword ever has or ever can, we have adopted measures, during the past year, to press upon the attention of rulers the great question of Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. Early last autumn, we requested our friends through the country to unite with us in petitioning Congress, and their respective State Legislatures, in favor of this measure ; and accordingly it was thus brought before both Houses of Congress, and before seven of our State Legislatures.

The result of these efforts we regard as a decisive index to the progress and prospects of our cause. It will be remembered, that two years ago, the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate of the United States, reported unanimously, through their chairman, Gov. FOOTE, of Mississippi, a resolution recommending Stipulated Arbitration as a preventive of future wars ; but it was too late in the session for the Senate to take any action on the subject. At the last session, Judge UNDER-

wood, of Kentucky, made to the Senate, on behalf of the same Committee, an able and elaborate report strongly in favor of the same measure. In this case, too, there was no time for action by the Senate; but the report, a document of great value, we have published entire in our periodical, and sent copies to nearly 2500 newspapers.

The subject has, also, met a favorable reception from the State Legislatures before which it has been brought. Of the seven that we have petitioned, four — Vermont, Maine, Rhode-Island and Massachusetts — have readily and fully responded to our wishes in resolutions adopted, in most, if not all cases, with entire unanimity; and the other three would probably have done the same, if the subject had been duly pressed upon their attention. It was received by the latter with such marks of favor as render it morally certain, that their sanction may, at a future session, be obtained by suitable efforts on the part of our friends. Indeed, the measure commends itself at once to every man of intelligence and candor, as worthy of a fair trial, and likely to prove successful in preventing most of the wars that would otherwise occur.

Our reasons for bringing this subject before our State Legislatures may seem too obvious to require any explanation. As government here is a mere agent of the popular will, we can expect rulers to take no action which the people do not demand, or will not sustain. We propose, in Stipulated Arbitration, a measure somewhat new, not a violent but still an important change in our foreign policy; and we are bound to satisfy our rulers that the mass of the community will heartily approve it. For this purpose, we might indeed refer to utterances from the press, or to petitions direct from the people; but such indications of their will are by no means so unequivocal and authoritative as would be a deliberate, formal expression of opinion on their behalf by a State Legislature. Its members, fresh from the people, and familiar with their views, may well be regarded as fair exponents of their opinions and wishes on the subject; and hence resolves by our State Legislatures in favor of Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War, would do more than almost anything else to convince our national rulers, that the people really desire, and are ready to sanction and applaud, such a precaution against future wars. That the mass of them are thus ripe for it, we cannot doubt. All we need, and just the thing that would be secured by the favorable action of our State Legislatures, is to call forth and concentrate their views in some definite form. A judge in New England, after perusing a brief document on the subject published the last year by our Committee, said he did not believe a single voter in his State would object to the measure we pro-

pose. We could not, indeed, presume so much of all the States ; but, if it were fairly and fully brought before the people of our whole country, we doubt whether one man in ten, if one in fifty, would refuse his approval to so reasonable and hopeful a substitute for war.

We cannot doubt the ultimate success of this measure in preventing wars ; and we think all possible efforts should be made to hasten its adoption. Let the principle be woven into the customary law of nations ; let them in their treaties provide for the peaceful adjustment of their difficulties, as they do for other matters of common interest ; let it become a universally conceded point, that nations, like individuals, shall submit to suitable arbiters all disputes which they cannot settle between themselves to mutual satisfaction ; and few, if any more wars would stain the future annals of Christendom. Such a measure, once adopted in good faith, would revolutionize in time the international policy of the whole civilized world, and put an end forever to the blind and brutal arbitrament of the sword. Its importance in this view can hardly be overestimated ; and we hope our Society's executive officers will continue to press it on the attention of our rulers, until their efforts shall be crowned with complete success.

On our other operations we will not now dwell in detail. They have been, in every department except that of agencies, on a steady increase. The Society has had in its service the past year hardly its ordinary number of agents, only two constantly in its employ ; but it has issued considerably more than its usual amount of publications, though in the year preceding we published an average of more than one thousand pages for every dollar we received. We have reprinted the greater part of our standard, stereotyped works, both tracts and volumes, in editions varying from one thousand to five thousand copies, with special reference to establishing depositories of them in distant sections of the country, particularly at the West, where they are most needed, and where a very hopeful interest has at length begun to be awakened in our cause. The Great Valley of the West, with its teeming myriads, is sure in time, if not very soon, to control alike the domestic and the foreign policy of our republic ; and, if we would insure its permanent peace, we must in season train the rising millions there to peaceful sentiments and habits.

We would gratefully record the liberality of our friends the past year. Though the Secretary, on whom the Society continues mainly to depend for the collection of its funds, has necessarily spent no small part of his time in bringing the subject of Stipulated Arbitration before our National

and State Legislatures, its income has nevertheless exceeded that of the preceding year about fifty per cent. It is still too small by far to meet the demands of such an enterprize, not even a tithe of what it ought to be; but there is a steady, reliable increase of liberality in its behalf; and we hope the time is not far distant, when it will receive spontaneous contributions sufficient to reach with its benign influence every nook and corner of our land, and thus form throughout its borders such a public opinion as shall put a stop at once, so far as we are concerned, to all actual wars, and an end in time to the whole war-system, by introducing substitutes that will accomplish more fully its purposes of international Justice and security.

We cannot close without emphatic reference to the noble efforts of our coadjutors abroad. Not a little has been done on the continent of Europe by the publication of popular articles on Peace in a large number of its newspapers, as well as by friendly addresses from the people of one country to those of another for the preservation of amicable relations between them—a practice which has taken the significant designation of *People-Diplomacy*; while our friends in England have made a bold and vigorous stand against the encroachments of their war-system. With them this system is an ever-present and overshadowing evil; and right manfully have they combatted it, and fairly turned at length the tide that was apparently drifting England into conflict with France. The whole world owes them its gratitude for what they have thus done in standing, at the recent crisis, a Spartan band in the very Thermopylæ of its future peace. When interested parties, with the press and the government both at their beck, were filling the land with a wild war-panic, fanning the war-spirit into a flame, and clamoring loudly for the expenditure of millions more than usual on her army and navy to meet the bugbear of a French invasion, the friends of peace, at the call of some six hundred influential names in various parts of the United Kingdom, and among them nearly twenty members of her Parliament, held for two days in succession a large and most enthusiastic meeting in Manchester. It was a noble gathering. The great champions of reform, the leaders of the popular party, the choicest spirits of our father-land, were there; and their sessions, crowded from first to last with noble resolves, and with speeches that would have done honor to any Parliament or Congress in the world, closed with a proposal to raise \$50,000 for a popular agitation of the subject through the length and breadth of the land. Six men immediately put down their names for \$2,500 each, and nearly \$30,000 were sub-

scribed on the spot. Well did Cobden say, "from this time, gentlemen, we are going to have a *revival*, a REVIVAL." The whole movement seems to have been eminently successful, a transfer of anti-corn-law zeal and energy to the cause of peace. It was a grand and imposing demonstration, and has obviously left its mark on the public mind and the national policy. Thus are the peace-party making themselves felt on the government itself; and no surer proof do we need of their power, than we find in the spiteful, vehement opposition they meet from presses and politicians in the interest of a prodigal war-policy. The time for treating peace as a trivial, an impertinent, or an impracticable theme, has pretty nearly gone by. It embraces or involves the chief interests of the world; and its claims must in time be heeded. Chameleons of the passing hour may still sneer at it as beneath their notice; but it is in truth the grand question of the age, the main-spring, or pivot of all its leading interests; and on this issue, as by far the most important in the whole range of national or international politics, is yet to be fought, sooner or later, the great battle of reform all over the earth.

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